## Message Text

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**ORIGIN EUR-04** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66613

R 212224Z JUN 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

SECRETSTATE 134027

FOLLOWING REPEAT OTTAWA 01925 ACTIONSECSTATE INFO MOSCOW USDEL MBFR GENEVA JUNE 19TH

QUOTE

SECRETOTTOWA 1925

SECTO 114

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATOMIN: MORNING SESSION, JUNE 18

DEPT PASS ALL NATO CAPS PRIORITY

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. SUMMARY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A GENERAL STATEMENT BY THE PORTUGUESE MINISTER, OTHER STATEMENTS IN THE OPENING GENERAL SESSIONHWERE FOR THE MOST PART DIRECTED TO THE FIRST AGENDA ITEM, ATLANTIC RELATIONS. IN ADDITION TO THE SECRETARY, FRANCE, GERMANY, LUXEMBOURG, ICELAND, DENMARK, THE NETHERLANDS AND NORWAY SPOKE ABOUT THE DECLARATION, AND WHILE DOING SO THE LAST THREE TOOK THE OCCASION TO COMMENT ON POLITICAL TRENDS IN PORTUGAL AND GREECE. END SUMMARY. SECRET

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- 2. SYG LUNS BEGAN WITH A BRIEF EXPLANATON OF HOW HE INTENDED THE DEBATE TO PROCEED.
- 3. LUNS THEN GAVE HIS OWN BRIEF POLITICAL ANALYSIS.

HE RECALLED THE STATEMENT OF A "YOUNG HARVARD PROFESSOR "WHO ONCE SAID THAT A QUEST FOR ABSOLUTE SECURITY BY ONE POWER LEADS TO THE ABSOLUTE INSECURITY OF OTHERS. THE YOM KIPPUR WAR, LUNS SAID, WAS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS PHENOMENON. THE SYG RECALLED THE DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY THE ALLIANCE DURING AND JUST AFTER THE WAR.

- 4. HE THEN ALLUDED TO THE VARIOUS EAST-WEST NE-GOTIATIONS AND THEIR INTRICATE INTERRELATIONSHIP, AND HE SAID ALL ALLIES ARE KEENLY INTERESTED IN THE PRESENT STATUS OF US-USSR RELATIONS. THEREFORE, THEY LOOK FORWARD TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENTS TODAY AND PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENTS NEXT WEEK ON THE FORTHCOMING MOSCOW TRIP.
- 5. LUNS CITED THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION AS AN ACHIEVE-MENT ALL ALLIES CAN BE PROUD OF, ESPECIALLY AS IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR.
- 6. THE FIRST SPEAKER WAS FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES. AFTER SAYING HE HAD NO INTENTION OF GOING AGAINST THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SYG OR THE DESIRES OF THE MAJORITY OF ALLIES BY MAKING A LONG STATEMENT, HE SAID HE DID WISH TO GREET HIS NEW COLLEAGUES AND TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT. RE THE LATTER, HE WISHED TO CALL ATTENTION TO TWO TEXTS. THE FIRST WAS GISCARD D'ESTAING'S RESPONSE TO A COMMUNICATION FROM LUNS WHEREIN THE FRENCH PRESIDENT AFFIRM-ED THE FULL MEMBERSHIP OF FRANCE IN THE ALLIANCE AND HER INTENTION TO CONDUCT HERSELF ACCORDINGLY. THE SECOND WAS THE NEW ATLANTIC DECLARATION "SOON TO BE COMPLETED." REGARDING PARTICIPATION IN THE NATO INTEGRATED DEFENSE, SAUVAGNARGUES SAID FRANCE'S PRESENT ROLE DERIVES FROM DECISIONS TAKEN IN 1966, AND THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN SECRET

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THIS STATUS

- 7. SAUVAGNARGUES SAID THE THRUST OF THE DECLARATION WAS PROPERLY TOWARD THE FUTURE. HE RECALLED THAT THE DOCUMENT IN ITS PRESENT FORM AROSE IN PART FROM THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HIS PREDECESSOR, MR. JOBERT.
- 8. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD SAID NEW GENERATIONS HAD COME UPON THE SCENE AND THERE WAS THE NEW PHENOMENON OF EAST-WEST DETENTE. FOR BOTH REASONS IT WAS USEFUL TO REMIND OUR PUBLICHOPINIONS OF THE NEED FOR THE ALIANCE AND AT THE SAME TIME TO GIVE TO THE ALLIANCE A FRESH START. SAUVAGNARGUES SAID HE THOUGHT THE PRESENT DOCUMENT MET THESE TWO REQUIREMENTS.

HE LAUDED THE STRESS WHICH THE DOCUMENT PLACED ON THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE US AND EUROPE AND SAID HIS GOVERNMENT DOES NOT TAKE THESE COMMITMENTS LIGHTLY.

9. THE COUNCIL COULD FIND AN ECHO OF THE NEW ATLANTIC TEXT IN MR. CHIRAC'S RECENT STATEMENTS TO THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY ON THE AIMS OF HIS NEW GOVERNMENT. THESE ARE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS WHICH WILL ACTIVATE AND INSPIRE OUR ACTIVITIES, THE FRENCH MINISTER SAID.

10. DEPARTING FROM HIS PREPARED TEXT AND SWITCHING INTO ENGLISH, SAUVAGNARGUES SAID HE WISHED TO REPEAT SOME OF THE IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION HE HAD EXPRESSED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AT DINNER THE PREVIOUS EVENING. HE REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS IN PARAGRAPH 11, RELATING THESE TO WHAT HE SAID WAS THE RECENT SUGGESTION THAT THE DECLARATION MIGHT BE INITIALED OR EVEN SIGNED. SAUVAGNARGUES SAID WHILE HE LIKED THE IDEAOF GIVING PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE DOCUMENT BY SIGNING IT, THIS MADE IT NECESSARY FOR FRANCE TO GIVE THE DOCUMENT A HARD SECOND LOOK. FOR THE ALLIES INFORMALLY TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT CONSULTATIONS WAS ONE THING BUT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT AT LEAST FRANCE COULD NOT UNDERTAKE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS REGARDING CONSULTATIONS BY SUBSCRIBING TO THE SUGGESTED PARA 11. SECRET

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11. HE AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD FOUND
THAT THEY COULD SOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY CHANGING JUST A
FEW WORDS SO THAT THE TEXT WOULD BE MORE IN ACCORD
WITH "SIMPLE COMMON SENSE." SAUVAGNARGUES PARTICULARLY
SINGLED OUT THE VERBS "UNDERTAKE TO" OR "WILL" AS GOING
TOO FAR FOR FRANCE. HE DEPRECATED WHAT HE SAID WAS HIS
OWN PREVIOUS ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION AND SAID HE WAS SURE THERE
COULD BE AGREEMENT ON NON-LEGAL WORDS WHICH NEVSITHELESS WOULD
PROVIDE A CLEAR STATEMENT OF INTENT TO STRENGTHEN
CONSULTATIONS.

12. ON THE SECOND ASPECT OF THE QUESTION OF CONSULTATION, THE QUESTION OF EVENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA, SAUVAGNARGUES SUGGESTED THAT IN THE EXISTING DRAFT THE FIRST AND SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 11 WERE "INTELLECTUALLY SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORY." AGAIN HE SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO AVOID AN LEGALLY BINDING WORDS IN EXPRESSING THE INTENT OF THE ALIES TO STRENGTHEN CONSULTATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT THEIR COMMON INTEREST CAN BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. (XULL TEXT OF SAUVAGNARGUES REMARKS FOLLOW SEPTEL.)

13. PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES BEGAN BY

SAYING HE WAS TOUCHED TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS COUNTRY AT THIS HISTORIC MOMENT IN ITS HISTORY. PORTUGAL HAD MOVED INTO A STAGE OF DECOLONIZATION. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ALLIES HAD IN THEIR PRESENCE A PORTUGAL DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PREAMBLE TO THE ATLANTIC TREATY. PORTUGAL WOULD BE IN A POSITION TODAY TO SIGN THE ORIGINAL TREATY "IN GOOD FAITH," WHICH WAS NOT THE CASE 25 YEARS AGO. THUS, PORTUGAL WILL AFFIX ITS SIGNATURE TO THE NEW DECLARATION WITH SINCERITY.

14. SOARES SAID HE WAS NOT MERELY A MINISTER WHO SUCCEEDED THE PREVIOUS ONE, BUT HE WAS HERE AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "NEW PORTUGAL." IT HAD BEEN A HARD AND LENGTHY STRUGGLE WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM ANYONE TO RECAPTURE THE DEMOCRACY WHICH PORTUGAL LOST IN THE 1920'S

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15. ON PERSONAL BASIS SOARES THANKED THOSE PRESENT AT THE TABLE WHO HAD HELPED HIM WHILE HE WAS IN EXILE. HE GREETED THERS WHOM HE WAS MEETING FOR THE FIRST TIME, AND HE PROMISED TO ALL THE FULL COLLABORATION OF A PORTUGUESE ALLY "WITHOUT ANY STRINGS ATTACHED."

16. SOARES THEN BRIEFLY RECOUNTED THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAETANO REGIME AND THE INSTALLATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WHOSE ONLY AIM, HE SAID, WAS TO ESTABLISH A FREELY REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL HAVE THREE OBJECTIVES: DEMOCRACY, DECOLONIZATION, AND ACCELERATED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

17. SOARS TRACED THE TRANSITION FROM THE JUNTA TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL HAVE LESS THAN A YEAR TO ORGANIZE THE ELECTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN MARCH 1975, THUS SIGNIFYING THE FINAL ACT OF PORTUGAL'S RETURN TO DEMOCRACY.

18. HE EXPESSED PORTUGAL'S HOPE FOR CONTINUED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION FROM ITS ALLIES. IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL, HE SAID, THAT THERE BE SET UP IN WESTERN EUROPE A ZONE OF DEMOCRATIC STABILITY.

19. THE PORTUGUESE FONMIN THEN BRIEFLY OUTLINED HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES TOWARD THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES. HE SAID THE EXISTING SITUATION WAS CAUSED BY THE INABILITY OF CAETANO TO RECOGNIZE THE POWER OF NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS IN CONFORMITY WITH MODERN TRENDS. THUS CAETANO RESORTED TO LEGAL SUBTERFUGE, FORCING THE AFRICANS INTO EXTREMIST POSITIONS. REJECTING THE ADVICE OF ALLIES AND FRIENDS, PORTUGAL

WAS PLACED IN A POSITION OF ISOLATION AND DISCREDIT TO THE POINT OF "A UNIVERSAL CONSENSUS OF CONDEMNATION OF THE PORTUGUESE THESIS."

20. IN SOARES' VIEW THE ARMED FORCES WERE THE VICTIMS OF THIS DILEMMA. FOR REASONS OF PATRIOTISM THEY HAD TO ENDURE THE NECESSARY SACRIFICES WHILE AWAITINGHA POLITICAL SOLUTION -- BUT NO POLITICAL SOLUSECRET

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TION CAME. NO CONDITIONS WERE SET BY CAETANO TO RESOLVE THIS DILEMA.

21. THE NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT SEEKS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE COLONIES BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. PORTUGAL WILL, IN A VERY SHORT TIME, DO THAT WHICH IS NECESSARY TO RESTORE PEACE. IT RECOGNIZES THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE IS ONE OF THE ALTERNATIVES WHICH CANNOT BE RULED OUT IF THERE IS TO BE TRUE SELF-DETERMINATION. THE FIRST STAGE, HOWEVER, IS A CEASE FIRE. THE PROCESS IS A DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED ONE, BUT HIS GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO FIND A SOLUTION BASED ON THE FREELY EXPRESSED WILL OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNED. AGAIN STRESSING THE DIFFICULTIES AHEAD, SOARES SAID PORTUGAL WISHES TO ASSURE HER ALLIES THAT THEIR FAITH WILL NOT BE "COMPROMISED". HOWEVER, PORTUGAL COUNTS ON THE SUPPORT OF ITS ALLIES SO AS TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE.

22.TURNING TO OTHER ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY, SOARES REFERRED TO PREVIOUS STATEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES, THE JUNTA, AND PRESENT GOVERNMENT. TOGETHER THEY EXPRESSED A PORTUGUESE INTENT TO DO THREE THINGS:

A) STRENGTHEN EXISTING RELATIONS ESPECIALLY WITH ATLANTIC ALLIES; B) CLEANSE THOSE RELATIONS WHICH HAD DETERIORATED; C) CREATE OR REESTABLISH RELATIONS WIH ALL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, AFRICA AND ASIA REGARDLESS OF THE CHARACTER OF THEIR INTERNAL REGIMES. HE NOTED PORTUGAL HAS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE USSR.

23. SOARES SAID HE WISHED TO RESOLVE DOUBTS WHICH EXISTED IN ONE PARTICULAR AREA. PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES WERE PERFECTLY AWARE OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE, SPECIFICALLY THE SECURITY INTERESTS. HE SAID "WE GUARANTEE THESE RULES ARE SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERED TO."

24. AS A FINAL NOTE SOARES SAID HIS COUNTRY HAD JUST AWAKENED FROM A CONDITION THAT HAD BEEN BOTH SECRET

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A POLITICAL AND MENTAL ANACHRONISM. ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THE ARMED FORCES COUNCIL HAD BROUGHT PORTUGAL TO LIFE AGAIN. "IF THERE ARE NO ACCIDENTS", HE SAID, PORTUGAL WOULD ACHIEVE A CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND FOR HER THE SPIRIT OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WOULD BECOME A FACT.

25. FRG FONMIN GENSHER, AFTER EXPRESSIONS OF THANKS FOR CANADIAN HOSPITALITY, SAID HE WISHED PARTICULARLY TO CONGRATULATE SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR WHAT HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO DO FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

26. AS THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, MR. GENSCHER WISHED TO RESTATE CERTAIN OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S POINTS OF VIEW. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, HE SAID, NATO AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE "WERE INDISPENSABLE" FOR THE FRG. IT WAS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE NEW ATLANTIC DECLARATION WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE FRG.

27. GENSCHER NOTED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, GERMANY WAS DEDICATED TO EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION. THESE INDISPENSABLE COMMITMENTS FORMED A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE A UNIFIED EUROPE CAN COME ABOUT ONLY UNDER THE SHIELD OF THE ALLIANCE. FOR THESE REASONS, THE FONMIN SAID IT WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIES CONSULT FULLY WITH EACH OTHER.

28. HE SAID THAT IMPROVEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS WAS NOT IN THE LEAST BIT AN OBSTACLE TO THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE. NATO AND EUROPEAN UNITY WERE ESSENTIAL TO US. WE WANT BOTH OF THEM AMB DETENTE WITH OUR EASTERN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS AS WELL.

29 AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND HE SPECIFICALLY CALLED ATTENTION TO THE JUNE 11 STATEMENT OF THE NINE EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT WITH REGARD TO RESULTS TO SECRET

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DATE IN CSCE. HE ALSO NOTED THAT FOR THE FRG THE BERLIN SITUATION REMAINS A "YARDSTICK", SAYING HE HOPED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD JUSTIFY ALL THE EFFORTS AT DETENTE THAT HAD BEEN MADE TO DATE BY SOME DEMONSTRATION OF "GOOD FAITH" IN GENEVA. BUT, THE PUBLIC SHOULD HAVE OBJECTIVE INFORMATION OF THE

EXACT STATUS OF CSCE AT THIS TIME. WE SHOULD TELL THEM OF THE PROBLEMS THAT REMAIN, GENSCHER SAID, AND OF THE STRONG EFFORTS WE ARE MAKING TO OVERCOME THEM

- 30. THE SECRETARY INTERVENED AT THIS POINT TO DISCUSS ATLANTIC RELATIONS. FULL TEXT FOLLOWS SEPTEL.
- 31. LUXEMBOURG PERMREP FISCHBACH, SPEAKING
  ON BEHALF OF FOREIGN MINISTER THORN, WHO HAD
  JUST SUCCEEDED IN FORMING A CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT,
  RECONFIRMED THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS
  THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE TO
  VARIOUS HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN MINISTERS
  ABOUT CONTINUITY IN LUXEMBOURG FOREIGN POLICIES.
- 32. ICELAND FONMIN AGUSTSSON SPOKE BRIEFLY AND DIRECTLY TO TWO POINTS, THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND THE IDF BASE NEGOTIATIONS. HE EXPRESSED ICELAND'S GENERAL APPROVAL FOR THE SINCERE EFFORTS THAT HAD GONE INTO THE DECLARATION, AND SAID HE WAS AUTHORIZED TO RATIFY FOR ICELAND. ICELAND WAS ALSO AGREEABLE TO THE FURTHER SUGGESTION THAT THE DECLARATION BE SIGNED AT A SUMMIT MEETING IN BRUSSELS NEXT WEEK. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN HIS COUNTRY, AGUSTSSON SAID NEITHER HE NOR HIS PRIME MINISTER WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO ATTEND.
- 33. NOTING THAT ONE OF THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN WAS THE FUTURE OF THE IDF, AGUSTSSON SAID HE WISHED BRIEFLY TO RECALL HIS GOVERNMENT'S DEFENSE POLICY WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN EXPLAINED TO THE COUNCIL. HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO CONTINUE COOPERATION WITH ALL ITS ALLIES AND TO CONTINUE ICELANDIC MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. IT HAD NEVER OCCURRED TO HIM AS FOREIGN MINISTER TO SUGGEST ANY OTHER SECRET

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COURSE. REGARDING THE PRESENCE OF MILITARY FORCES IN ICELAND, HOWEVER, THE GOAL OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN TO BRING ABOUT CONDITIONS WHEREBY THERE WOULD BE NO MILITARY FORCES IN ICELAND DURING TIMES OF PEACE. ICELAND, WORKING TOWARD THAT GOAL IN A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE WITH THE UNITED STATES, HAD SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES ICELAND'S FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATING. HE EXPRESSED HIS HOPE FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HE WOULD THEN SUBMIT TO HIS PARLIAMENT FOR RATIFICATION.

34. DANISH DEFENSE MINISTER BROENDUM BEGAN WITH PRAISE FOR THE ORIGINAL ATLANTIC TREAY WHICH DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS HAD PROVED TO BE SO WISE AND FORE-SIGHTED THAT IT STILL PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR THE ALLIANCE. BROENDUM EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE FOR DENMARK OF THE

ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, NOTING THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP ON THE PART OF DANISH PUBLIC OPINION AND ON THE PART OF A MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT. FOR THESE REASONS, HE SAID, DENMARK WELCOMED THE NEW ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND CONSIDERED IT A VERY IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT SPECIFICALLY WELCOMED THE DECLARATION AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM ITS "PARTNERSHIP" WITH THE NORTH AMERICAN ALLIES. HE WISHED PARTICULARLY TO SINGLE OUT STATEMENTS IN THE DECLARATION WHICH, LIKE THE HARMEL REPORT, POINTED TO THE ALLIANCE AS THE INSTRUMENT WHICH ENABLES THE WEST TO PURSUE DETENTE. DENMARK TOOK SPECIAL NOTE OF THE STATEMENT IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF THE DECLARATION WHEREIN THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMED ITS DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN FORCES IN EUROPE.

35. BROENDUM PRAISED THE DECLARATION'S STATEMENT THAT MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WERE DETERMINED TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD UNITY-- A UNITY WHICH SHOULD HAVE A BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMON DEFENSE OF THE ALLIES. HE WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS COUNTRY'S VIEW THAT CONSULTATION WERE NECESSARY IN THIS RELATIONSHIP, AND HE WELCOMED FRENCH AND US STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF STRENGTHENING THE PRACTICE OF FRESH AND TIMELY CONSUTATIONS.

36. THE DANISH DEFENSE MINISTER CONCLUDED WITH A PLUG SECRET

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FOR PARAGRAPH 12 STATEMENTS OF DECLARATION AS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO HIS GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY THE DEDICATION OF THE ALLIANCE TO PRINCIPALS OF DEMOCRACY, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. IN THIS CONNECTION THE PEOPLE OF DENMARK LOOK UPON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL WITH SYMPATHY AND WELCOME THE STATEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

37. NETHERLANDS FONMIN VAN DER STOEL EXTOLLED THE DECLARATION FOR ITS RECOGNITION THAT SECURITY AND DETENTE ARE ESSENTIALLY COMPLEMENTARY. HE SAID HIS COUNTRY, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THE DECLARATION RIGHTFULLY EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN DETERRENCE, HOPED THAT CURRENT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY MBFR, WILL PROVIDE MEANS TO REDUCE THESE WEAPONS.

38. MR. VAN DER STOEL NOTED THAT EACH OF THE ALLIES HAS HAD PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES WITH AT LEAST ONE PARAGRAPH IN THE DECLARATION. FOR HIS COUNTRY THE MOST DIFFICULT WAS THE PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE TWO EUROPEAN ALLIES. HE EMPHASIZED THE NETHERLANDS' VIEW THAT NOTHING IN THE DECLARATION CAN BE CONSIDERED AS COMMITMENT TO, OR AS AN EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR, A

## EUROPEAN NUCLEAR FORCE.

39. LIKE THE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER, VAN DER STOEL WISHED TO SINGLE OUT DECLARATION STATEMENTS ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, THE NETHERLANDS HE SAID, ALSO WELCOMED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL.

40. IN A CLEAR ALLUSION TO GREECE, HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TO EXPRESS REGRET THAT THERE STILL REMAINED ONE ALLY WHICH WAS AN EXCEPTION TO THE SPIRIT OF DECLARATION'S SENTIMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

41. VAN DER STOEL CONCLUDED WITH A BRIEF STATEMENT OF APPRECIATION FOR THE COMPROMISE ON THE QUESTION OF CONSULTATIONS. HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW WAS THAT SIMPLE RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT ALLIANCE INTEREST CAN BE SECRET

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AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD DID NOT AMOUNT TO AN EXTENSION OF THE TREATY AREA, WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD OPPOSE.

42. THE FINAL INTERVENTION OF THE MORNING WAS THAT OF NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND. HE BEGAN BY LAUDING STATEMENTS IN THE DECLARATION ON THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THE COMMON DEFENSE AND ON THE COMPATABILITY OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE AS OBJECTIVES.

43. LIKE THE DUTCH, HE POINTED TO THE SPECIFIC MENTION
OF THE NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES OF FRANCE AND THE UK. BY
AGREEING TO THESE WORDS HIS GOVERNMENT IN NO WAY IMPLIED
ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR FORCE.
FRYDENLUND GENERALLY PRAISED THE AGREEMENT WORDING ON
CONSULTATIONS, AND HE POINTED TO THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE
TO NORWAY OF THE DECLARATION STATEMENTS ON DEMOCRACY
AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IN A SLIGHTLY MORE
SUBTLE REFERENCE TO GREECE, THE NORWEGIAN SAID THAT HIS
COUNTRY HOPED THESE SENTIMENTS WOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY
BY ALL ALLIES.

44. FRYDENLUND WELCOMED THE STATEMENT OF INTENTIONS OF THE NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND HE WISHED PORTUAL SUCCESS IN COPING WITH ITS PROBELMS BOTH IN PORTUGAL AND IN AFRICA. HE CONCLUDED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION TO THE ICELANDIC FONMIN FOR THE STATEMENT ON ICELANDIC DEFENSE POLICY. NORWAY HOPED FOR AN OUTCOME OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS THAT WILL BE SATISFACTORY TO THE BASIC SUCURITY REQUIREMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE, AND WILL AT THE SAME TIME BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ICELANDIC PEOPLE. KISSINGER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: DETENTE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, ALLIANCE, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS,

SECTÖ 114

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 21 JUN 1974 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 **Decaption Note:** 

Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIENT Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE134027
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FLIR/NE-APINKNEY

Drafter: EUR/NE:APINKNEY

Enclosure: n/a

Executive Order: 11652 GDS Errors: n/a Film Number: D740164-0843

From: STATE Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740688/abbryzon.tel Line Count: 489

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM Office: ORIGIN EUR

**Original Classification: SECRET** Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 9

**Previous Channel Indicators: Previous Classification: SECRET** Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Reference: n/a

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED

Review Authority: golinofr Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 04 APR 2002 **Review Event:** Review Exemptions: n/a

Review History: RELEASED <04 APR 2002 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <18 JUN 2002 by golinofr>

**Review Markings:** 

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:** Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: NATOMIN: MORNING SESSION, JUNE 18

TAGS: PFOR, US, PO, UR, FR, NATO, (GISCARD D'ESTAING, VALERY), (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (NIXON, RICHARD M), (SAUVAGNARGUES),

(LUNS) To: RÉYKJAVIK Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005